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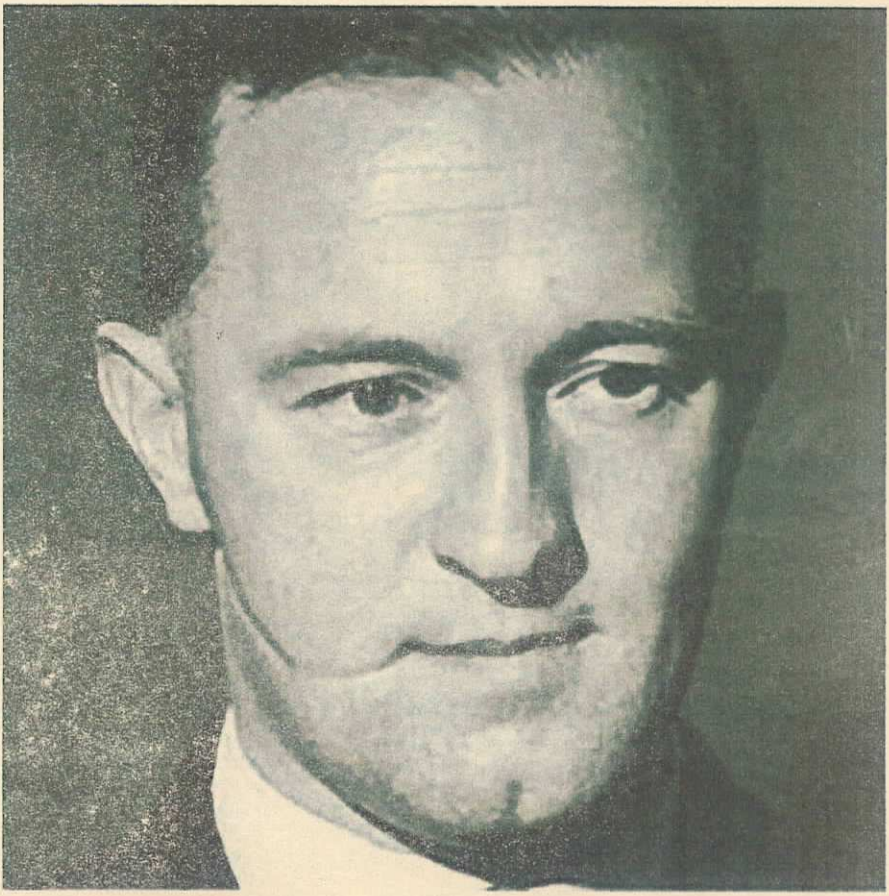
DICTATORSHIP



By

William Joyce

DICTATORSHIP
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"The true born democrat is a contradiction
An irony in speech, in fact a fiction"
(with apologies to Defoe)

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DICTATORSHIP *by William Joyce*

DEMOCRACY, indeed, is both radically and individually an acquired taste, nor are signs lacking that the relish may easily be lost. In dealing with the Fascist concept of dictatorship, it would be a convenience to omit all reference to democratic phenomena, were it not that some reader might be sufficiently curious to require a brief examination of the stimulus which has produced the greatest response and the most fundamental revolution since the Renaissance. Assuredly dictatorship, as we understood it, has an abundance of positive merits; but its establishment may nevertheless be triumphantly vindicated by nothing more than a casual consideration of that refined nonsense which is known as democracy. Whilst dictatorship may, as we shall see, be defined very precisely, the term "democracy" has a mutability of meaning in full conformity with the fickleness of the thing, whose exponents have thus a characteristic advantage in verbal tactics. Some would explain it by the epigram "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity"; and this epigram was the last epitaph written on social sanity.

The inheritance of mental and physical characteristics, the existence of insuperable differences of environment, the laws of biology and psychology make it impossible that there should exist any real equality between men.

Differences there must be, though these differences need not find their expression in snobbery or in those social distinctions which rest upon such obscure titles as a Knighthood created to rid some constituency of an incumbent, when his seat is desired by a more technically useful member of the Prime. Minister's party. **The Fascist is opposed to many of the inequalities of our present system.** He opposes these inequalities, however, not because they are inequalities but because they are in no wise correlated with the only true criterion of discrimination-the standard of service to the State. Thus when the Fascist condemns privilege without service, he is very far from opposing the laws of the greater sciences. Fascism, in fact, is the only scientific approach to politics and economics today; and dictatorship is the only scientific approach to government. There are some people who

fondly believe "equality" to be desirable and have consequently inferred that it is possible. Such reasonings are not uncommon amongst the sentimental.

NOT infrequently we hear of "equality of opportunity". The phrase as used by many socialists, is absurd, unless we accept J. B Watson's discredited boast that he could make human beings what he wished, provided that he could control the environment of their childhood. The opportunity of becoming a mathematician is useless to the child who is destined to be a musician; and if we wished for real equality, we might well begin by measuring individual differences and then varying opportunities in such a way that the most gifted child was afforded the least help. Fascism will, in fact, provide superior opportunity for merit alone

NOW, unhappily, in contemplation of the entrancing topic of equality, we have forgotten liberty. **No deep study of human nature is required to reveal the fact that a society which determined to enforce equality would have to dispense with liberty.** The equalitarian of modern times is our Procrustean carpenter, whose stretching and hewing would accommodate every victim to his bed. That equality is certainly the antithesis to liberty is a conclusion which every man would be entitled to draw, if he knew what the word "liberty" meant: but no precision of definition is possible. The liberty to rob a neighbour's hen-roost, the liberty to ruin thousands of human beings by unscrupulous but "legitimate' speculation, the liberty to buy drinks at sunrise, and the liberty to breathe are all valued in different degrees by different lovers of freedom. It seems, then, that the purpose of law is to restrict human liberty in the interests of society, and the present existence of starvation as a substitute for plenty is a good warrant for making further encroachments upon the freedom in which. the Manchester School of Political Economy took such pride. For without contemplating the least attack on the principle of private property, we are forced to dwell sadly in the words of Nietzsche: "Mercantile morality is really nothing but a refinement of piratical morality": Had his stricture been applied to international financiers, it would have needed emphasis. **Fascism, at any rate, will allow nobody the liberty to destroy England and her Empire.**

THUS far, no second mention has been made of fraternity. The reason is clear. In societies exposed to the ferocious struggles of liberty and equality, there is no place for the fraternal spirit. The only wise thing that the French Revolutionaries did was to execute their immoral mentors. The Russians apparently learned something of the lesson, and their "intelligentsia" were richly repaid for their services to democracy. It may be doubted if any man has ever yet championed the cause of freedom without the conscious or subconscious design of dominating his fellows; and those who contend for equality are finally constrained to advocate its establishment by superior force. From these facts the reason sickens and recoils; but they make a democratic fraternity impossible outside the great brotherhood of political corruption. **The person who wishes to find fraternity of the highest kind can begin and end his search with Fascism; for Fascism is a creed which knows nothing of distinctions external to itself. Fascism is the form of social organisation which alone can produce a true comradeship based on universal service and emancipated from the jealousies inherent in democratic teaching.**

DEMOCRACY being thus based on mutually contradictory principles, we should not wonder that its very existence is often denied. But there is something worse under the sun than theoretical democracy. There is sham democracy. Since the principles will not work, the illusion of their working must be given-if only in deference to the shades of those pious The *"Laissez Fair"* or " Poverty" school of economics conspired to deprive of their vital sustenance the masses whom they tutored in politics; and in return the workers were presented with the illusion of democracy by the political branch of the conspiracy. The great condition of this illusion was that government should seem to be "of the people, by the people and for the people ", whilst politicians either sought a compromise between their own beliefs and the plausible proposals which won elections, or, more simply, decided to concentrate on plausibility alone. Meanwhile, the iron law of wages maintained the asceticism necessary for the appreciation of democracy. Disraeli, no mean offender, had the grace to write: - "The world is weary of statesmen whom democracy has degraded into politicians". And since

the sole approach to power was the capacity to win the approval of unfortunate people who could more easily form judgements upon the higher mathematics than on profound questions of policy, there was evolved the type of politician who can best be described in the words of Milton:-

". . . . he seemed
For dignity composed and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow, though his tongue
Dropped manna and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels; for his thoughts were low;
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful, yet he pleased the ear
And with persuasive accent thus began"

HE began, in fact, the corruption which has rendered the effective government of this country a mere impossibility until he and his works are abolished. **At times he follows his own inclinations, at times he consults the people, but never does he rise above the principle that the possession of office is infinitely more important than its use.** He must at least pretend, on occasions, to respect the popular mandate. He must make the promises that will win the votes. And he must reconcile the election largess with the niggardly parsimony of the session. Our sham democracy, offspring of plausible corruption and cupidity ignorant if not unreasonable, secures that neither the people nor the politicians shall govern. The rates of their respective influences vary as the proximity to and from a general election.

To avoid the charge of generality, we may quote a few instances of how "democracy" keeps faith with its name.

1. In 1918 Mr. Lloyd George promised the English people that he would repress the Sinn Fein gunmen. Without any sort of mandate, he granted the demands of Michael Collins, the chief gunman.

2. The weakening of our position in Egypt since 1924 has been effected without any consent on the part of the people.

3. "Labour and the Nation" placed the Socialists in office in 1929. Viscount Snowden has lately professed to find the document of little interest. Messrs. Macdonald and Thomas had evidently, in the event, no intention of fulfilling the conditions upon which they were given office.

4. The General Election of 1931 was won largely by the promise that the exchange value of the pound should be maintained, when every politician acquainted with his trade knew that the maintenance was impossible. The sum of £350,000,000 is now being used for the necessary violation of his promise.

5. When Mr. Baldwin was Prime Minister, he refused to apply protection to steel because he had no popular mandate to do so: yet Mr. Baldwin would apparently suffer the death of the " Seven Gates of Joyful Wisdom" rather than invite a popular mandate concerning his attitude towards the Indian Question. Rather does he use the most contemptible devices of political intrigue to secure the surrender of the Indian sub-continent to Gandhi; whilst inveighing against open and honourable dictatorships, he deludes the people, corrupts his followers, and deceives himself.

THUS does democracy work. The reader can find no hope in a more perfect application of democracy: for there can be no perfect application of any proposition based on such conflicting premises. Because the Tories wish to make the poor more wretched still, the Socialists are allowed to retain their anti-Imperial prejudices: and thus we have a National Government in which the conceit of the snob is surpassed only by the conceit of his client.

THUS expediency and plausibility play some part in social democracy. Principle plays no part, if we except the principle that seats must be won. The business of the democrat is to nurse prejudice. For nearly a century our economists have preached Free Trade on one pretext or another: and it is only *force majeure* which has compelled the present Government to adopt tariffs of some kind or other. **The faith in Free Trade lingers on, precisely because bad capitalists rely upon cheap imports to keep the subsistence level of wages as low as possible: and there are still Free Traders who would have our democracy debase its standard of living to a sub-oriental level.** Other countries

have been subjected to the plague of democracy and have survived it by the establishment of dictatorships: and it is becoming increasingly obvious that our own plague must end in the same way, if we are not to be exterminated as a nation. Dictatorship is now sweeping the world not merely by the desire of man but by the inexorable destiny of iron necessity.

ONLY the most credulous and the least adaptable retain any show of faith in democracy. This loss of faith is remarkably well illustrated in a book by Mr. John Strachey entitled "The Menace of Fascism". Now, though Mr.Strachey cannot yet be regarded as an ingenuous and unstinting admirer of Fascism, his little work earns our appreciation because the things which he attacks are not Fascist things: and we cannot refrain from quoting a few passages in which the writer's honesty has compelled him to chastise the inefficacy of democracy and to imply the merits of dictatorship. These are the extracts arranged in such an order as to show the tendency of the argument: -

(a) "For the first time in the memory of man, the British people have begun to doubt the future."
(b) "The masses will feel in their own bodies by their intolerable present sufferings, the absolute need of some decision
(c) "In order to ward off Fascism, to preserve the principle of democracy.... the Social Democrats (in Germany) had month after month to support a government which had in practice become a dictatorship. In order to prevent the unemployed "being sacrificed by a Fascist regime"' the Social Democrats supported the reduction of unemployment benefit to nine shillings and three pence a week.
(d) "The attraction of securing, at the cost of a temporary political and industrial retreat, a broad "united front" against Fascism seems irresistible . . .Nevertheless it can. . . be conclusively demonstrated that this policy, if it is followed to the end by the British workers must lead them, with a positively mathematical inevitability to their defeat, ruin and massacre."
(e) "..... the present leaders of the Labour Party.....promise to oppose a workers' dictatorship, although the only existing 'workers' dictatorship is rapidly abolishing class privileges, has gone very far towards realising

a genuine equality of opportunity, has abolished unemployment.....and.....undeniably enjoys the passionate support of..... the industrial workers."

WHILST the context of the last extract does not make it absolutely clear to which dictatorship Mr Strachey is referring, the general tendency of the booklet would lead us to suppose that the allusion was to Soviet Russia. If our supposition were correct, we cannot accept the author's statements: but we are vitally interested to note the skilful declension from distrust of democracy to praise of dictatorship. The glories of Mussolini's remaking of Italy, the masterful competency of his rule, the renaissance of the German nation achieved by Hitler, and even the desperate autocracy of Dollfuss have combined to convince all realists of the fact that the various "doctors" who have been trying to save the languishing democracy had far better concentrate their attention on "post-mortem" technique. The age of dictatorship has come; and it has arrived as the result of scientific evolution rather than as a consequence of individual desire; for the world is not longer to be tilted, and jolted, and projected into space by the capricious play of those unregulated forces which constitute democracy. Professor Einstein, as the great exponent of relativity might realise this truth. The organic unity of the state can be derived only from that organic unity of government which is dictatorship.

NOW the student of politics might well ask whether aristocracy cannot be postulated as an alternative to democracy and autocracy. The practical value of the question does not justify our giving that full treatment which its theoretical interest demands. Be it admitted that the Roman Republic in many respects compares favourably with the Roman Empire, we nevertheless have to concur with Thucydides in the aphorism "that a city is made not of bricks but of men". And one hundred years ago, Carlyle could write:- "Alas, where are now the Hengists and Alarics who.....will.....like fire-pillars, guide onwards those superfluous masses of indomitable living valour, equipped not now with the battle-axe and war-chariot, but with the steam engine and ploughshare? Where are they? Preserving their game?"

OUR aristocracy has ceased to represent the best and it has ceased to be able to rule. So obvious is the latter fact that those who disagree must bear the burden of refutation. To mention one proof only, the House of Lords has aided and abetted the Conservatives and Commoners in the disruption of Empire. Indeed their Lordship's house exists only to set the seal of final respectability on the dubious or vicious proceedings of the Tories in the Lower House. It may be alleged that the peers could not have exercised their power without running the risk of their abolition; they were, then, as well abolished.

ON the other hand, as will later be seen, it is consonant with the purpose of fascism to build up a new aristocracy based on merit alone, from which dictators will be drawn. A weakness of autocracy as a system is that autocrats must be born and not made. **Fascism will enlist the services of heredity and environment to secure that it shall produce worthy leaders.** Nor is it essential that the dictatorship should invariably be exercised by one man: for the comradeship of Fascism makes it possible that the sovereignty should be exercised by a group of men. Our dictatorship is the dictatorship of Fascism and not the personal despotism of a mere man. On the other hand, the present setting of the world's problems renders desirable the leadership of men rather than the cunning antics of politicians whose depravity saves them from mediocrity.

FASCISM, in its very essence, cannot conceive of the sovereignty as resident in the people. "Self-government" is a phrase embodying a sharp contradiction in terms. The supreme function of government is to determine the conduct of the governed. Determination implies a superiority of some element within the system politic, and this element is to be identified with dictatorship which has the unique merit of resolving into equilibrium the millions of conflicting impulses which spring from the millions of conflicting interests which social evolution has brought into being. Fascist dictatorship is not merely a good theory of government, it is an organic necessity: for the government of a people is the determination of its conduct by some power as far above the interests of individuals "as the lofty cypress above the wayside shrub".

YET, whilst Fascism holds that no successful government can exist when the wishes of the people are always granted, it also holds that no government at all can exist unless the wishes of the people are constantly consulted and in this vital respect it differs from all the older forms of despotism and from every form of tyranny. Older despotisms, whether benevolent or malevolent, were based upon a theory which postulated their derivation from divine authority and which made the wishes of the people merely so much impertinence. Fascism has no philosophy of this kind. The dictatorships of Mussolini and Hitler exist with the overwhelming approval of their respective peoples. Not all the calumniation of our corrupt press can conceal the fact that Hitler is expressing the will of the German people, whose wishes were travestied, thwarted, and misrepresented by democracy.

FASCISM, in its very essence, cannot conceive of the sovereignty as the adamant necessity of facts. This authority, however, possesses in the Corporate State the most elaborate and satisfactory method ever devised for consulting the properly informed opinion of the people. **Occupational representation** is calculated to enable delegates to give information on subjects with which they are familiar: the motivation will probably come as a shock to our present members of Parliament who, through failure of energy or lack of grace, are ceasing even to stimulate a knowledge which they do not possess. Even the once vigorous Mr. Churchill feels it necessary to admit that the Secretary of State for India may be right. "*O Tempora O Mores!*" On the other hand, the Fascist system will provide for the election of certain members whose duty will be to exercise a representation more general than experts could exercise. **The nomination of these members will reside in the Fascist system of Government, and such nominations will be possible neither for the young gentlefolk who have wearied of kipper-parties, nor for the old captains of industry who have lost many heavily insured craft, nor yet for the ageless agitators who think, because they know more than Aristotle, that they ought to be directing the business of the nation.**

THE purpose of this paper, however, is not to examine in detail the corporate system, a description of which must be sought and found elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the Fascist dictatorship will at once make possible the real representation of the people by insisting on the appointment as delegates of those who are able to represent. Such a concept seems to have been unknown to democracy. When the Fascist recognises that the people must be consulted, he shows not only that his philosophy differs from that of the tyrant, but also that he realises to the full the folly of power abused and the necessity for harmony between government and people: and this harmony is bound to arise from the unifying spirit of Fascism, whilst it could arise from no other source.

SOME naive opponents occasionally ask how a Fascist Government could be changed, once the dictatorship had been established. If these curious enquirers wish to know how the system could be altered, they must be made aware that we would never advocate a system in which we did not believe. Dubiety is assuredly the mark of democracy; but certainty is the mark of Fascism. Had we any doubts we would proceed no further. But the democrat regards government as emolument rather than as a responsibility. He sees in politics a continuum of changes which the opportunist may turn to account: and he may be loath to lose his own opportunity. We must then, at first, pardon him if his main solicitude is concerned less with the value of government than with the methods whereby government may be changed: but our indulgence will not endure for ever. If, on the other hand, it is asked how the personnel can be changed, mortality itself demands an answer. The personnel of government can be changed by the proved and experienced leaders of the Fascist organisation. The best Fascists will have the rights to highest choice. Parliamentary approval of such a change would be sought and regarded as of high value. But a patriot who does not believe in the omniscience of the people cannot be comforted by the proposition that "a nation which does not want to be saved is not worthy of salvation ". Hence it could even occur that a dictator, a Fascist, and a patriot might resolve to save a nation against its will. Otherwise he would have to make confession of inability to act, to persuade, or to govern. On the other hand, the Dictator could and would avail himself of plebiscites in

cases where they might end discussion and serve a useful purpose: for Fascism is no less determined to secure popular representation than to secure government itself.

WHILST no Fascist can discern the existence of a popular right to sovereignty, every Fascist takes as his first principle Edmund Burke's great judgement: -

"The question is not whether you have the right to render your subjects miserable, whether it is not to your interest to make them happy."

But the sovereignty itself must be an established entity of mental and moral unity and not, as in a democratic state, a vague, elusive incoherent, ephemeral phenomenon for the unscrupulous but confused pursuit of politicians and people alike. From the aspect of historical continuity democracy in Europe has a record of considerably less than two centuries. The record is bad: but during a former stage of social development, this democracy could at least struggle with the multitudinous, multifarious and contradictory claims of individualism. That struggle was, of course, conditioned by the futile premises of democracy itself. But now a new stage of social development has begun. The power of machinery and the resources of science have created a complexity of human and industrial relationships which defies the conception of our ancestors just as it taxes the intelligence of our contemporaries. In such an intricate and complicated field of relationships, organisation is the undeniable condition of racial survival: and organisation cannot proceed from any of the opposing forces which fill this field. Rather must their opposition be resolved by a power superior to the contention. In the resultant system, each force will play its part: but the direction of many forces will be changed and the intensity of some will be diminished. The task presents a difficulty in comparison with which the labours of Hercules would appear to be simple buffoonery. Herein lies the manifest inadequacy of the old political parties. Herein lies the adequacy of the Fascist, who is ready to complete the destruction of an outworn creed that England may truly live. Mr. Strachey ruefully remarks: "If we in Britain allow Fascism to arise, that will be because we of the working class movement have

failed to show the British people the way of hope and renewed progress."

Whether Mr. Strachey's pronoun is royal or editorial, we grant that all the Party politicians have failed lamentably. Had they been free from corruption, guiltless of hypocrisy, and untainted by cupidity, they would still have failed, since no practice could conform to the theories which they held. **But Fascism has arisen in Britain; and under a Fascist Dictatorship, Britain shall veritably live as an organic unity. Those who would have her exist as a dismembered corpse in the dissecting room of democracy have had their day and nearly had their way.** But the Fascist revolution is at hand. And these revolutionaries in an age of science will establish the scientific reality of a government which can govern and representatives who can represent.

The man who wishes to serve has nothing to fear from a Fascist dictatorship; for service is the characteristic and creed of Fascism. For the man who does not wish to serve, there is no rightful place in any state. Many persons, suffering from what psycho-pathologists would call an inferiority complex, try to employ democracy as a compensation reaction: but bad politics cannot be perpetuated for the benefit of neurotics. Some men may think that their merits should entitle them to a dominion over others. Such a thought may be unpleasant. Some men think that they have ability to discharge a high responsibility. Such men should mark well that the scientific attitude of Fascism will demand the proof by service. Now if it finally be asked by what men our dictatorship is to be exercised, even our most determined opponents will find irrefutable logic in this answer: - "The men who make England Fascist are men whom all England cannot rule; and hence they must rule all England." Strength is the test of effective dictatorship, and Victory is the test of strength.

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WILLIAM JOYCE

Described by A.K. Chesterton as "That brilliant fascist writer" William Joyce was to gain great notoriety in the 1940s due to his broadcasts on the wartime German radio.

Although commonly known as "Lord Haw Haw", this title actually belonged to his predecessor. It must be admitted, even by his enemies, that he was always true to his conscience and was in many ways the precursor of Jane Fonda who spoke against the war in Vietnam from within the enemy camp many years later.

"Bill" Joyce was born of Irish parents in New York, USA. He lived most of his life in Britain, and during the 1930s, nearly all of his political work was done within the British Union of Fascists.

Later set up his own group called The National Socialist League.

A few days before Britain declared war on Germany Joyce was "tipped off", reputedly by Maxwell Knight who worked for the Government secret spying organisation. He was told that he was on the list for imminent arrest. This "tip off" enabled him to flee to Germany as a political refugee in the nick of time.

It was because he used a British passport (to which he was not entitled) as a travel document that enabled the charge of treason to be made against him, and he paid for his actions, unrepentant, by going to a brave death on the gallows after the war.

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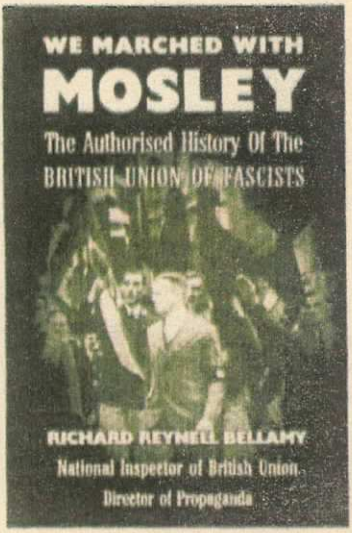
We Marched with Mosley

Author : Richard Bellamy



Richard Reynell Bellamy was brought up in the aftermath of the Great War of 1914-1918. Long before the Great Depression of 1931 the pinched faces of hungry children told of widespread poverty in northern industrial towns in what was the richest Empire the world had ever seen. The jobs of their parents had long ago passed to the cheap sweated labour countries of Asia and elsewhere.

Bellamy was not one to grumble in the comfort of an armchair and leave the solution to others. He joined the Blackshirts almost at the start and went out onto British streets to fight for peace and prosperity through Mosley's policies of a high wage economy, economic autarky, a Corporate State - and no more wars unless Britain was attacked.

In the course of his political odyssey Bellamy, came to know just about every British Blackshirt worth knowing and attended all the major Leader meetings and many local ones besides.

Towards the end of his life, at Oswald Mosley's request, he wrote it all down for posterity - providing this unique inside story of the British Union of Fascists.

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